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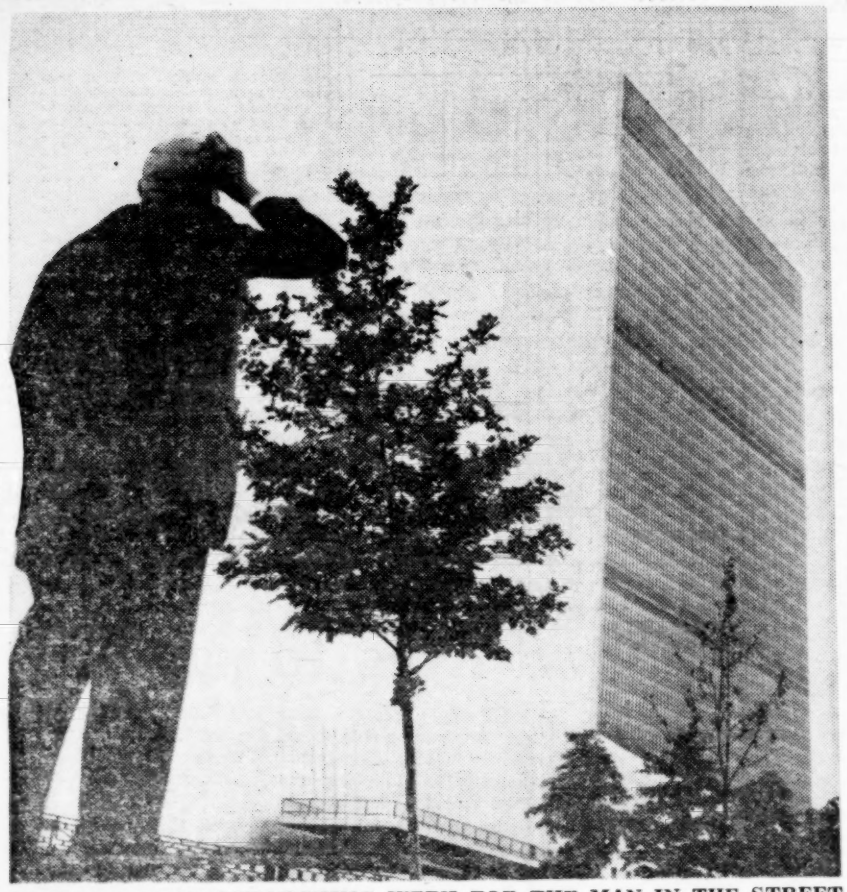

IT WAS A HEAD-SCRATCHING WEEK FOR THE MAN IN THE STREET
A passer-by pauses in wonderment before the United Nations building in New York. His question could be: Will the UN be the arena in which peace will be achieved in the Mid-East? But whether within or without the UN, a summit meeting to pull the world back from the brink was the hope of most human beings.

THE MID-EAST WAR CRISIS

China takes a hand in world-wide drive for a summit session

By Elmer Bendiner

AT LONDON'S ADELPHI Theater on Sat. July 19, an audience waited to see one of the season's top hits: China's Classical Theater troupe. At curtain time they were told there would be no show. Dr. Chu Wu, the troupe's director, said: "We cannot go on performing because of the present political atmosphere and while people in China are demonstrating at the aggression."

As Dr. Chu spoke, some 1,500,000 other Chinese were winding up a 34-hour parade of protest in front of the British Embassy in Peking. China had thus served notice that the landing of troops in the Middle East had intimately involved the Far East, that in fact the threat was global and China would make herself heard.

China's weight had long been felt but beyond the Socialist world its voice had scarcely been heard. With the Mid-East crisis China seemed about to step out on the world diplomatic stage.

MASQUERADE ENDING: So long as the delegate from Formosa held China's seat in the UN, the West could convince itself that China was not a factor in the world. When China handed the British Ambassador a sharp note of protest over the Jordan landings it created no stir at all. Formosa could still cast China's vote in the UN Security Council.

But last week the masquerade was nearing its end. Formosa was becoming embarrassing by threatening to bar India from a summit meeting if it were held as a Security Council session. More important, Soviet Premier Khrushchev in the midst of the crisis had flown to Peking for consultations just as Western statesmen commute between London and Washington on the eve of great events.

The Peking communique of Aug. 3 denounced the "flagrant aggression" of the U. S. and Britain in the Middle East, referred in grave terms to the danger of war, demanded withdrawal of the troops and called for "a conference of the heads of governments of the big powers" to discuss the crisis. Whether or not China would speak for itself at such a conference, the Peking communique made it plain that China would be felt if not heard.

CROOKED PATH: Before Khrushchev week-ended in Peking the summit dialogue had reached a ludicrous point. Khrushchev on July 19 had urgently called for a big-power summit meeting that would include India and the UN's Secretary General. Eisenhower suggested a Security Council session which heads of state could attend if they liked. Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan added that there would be no voting and that the heads could convene in private as a committee of the Council. Khrushchev accepted and Eisenhower quickly said the apparent agreement was due to a misunderstanding. The Security Council session would follow strict procedural rules and Washington officials indicated that

(Continued on Page 4)

Herblock in Washington Post
THINKER

ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

Path to Mid-East peace lies in coexistence under the UN

By Konni Zilliacus
Labor Member of Parliament
LONDON

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S proposal for Summit talks snatched the world back from the brink of war to which it was once again being pushed by Mr. Dulles, with Premier Macmillan as his accomplice. Intervention was decided upon between them early last June, during Macmillan's visit to the U.S., when the rulers of Jordan and Lebanon, who with Nuri Said in Iraq were the only remaining Arab friends of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact, were already getting into difficulties with their peoples and sending S.O.S. signals.

The rest was a matter of military build-up and a suitable pretext. The Iraq revolution meant the opportunity was also an emergency. For the downfall of King Faisal and the 'old fox' Nuri Said knocked the lynch-pin out of the Anglo-American policy of backing the 'good Arabs' against the rest. Away went the Marines and crack troops to Lebanon, the parachutists to Jordan and the nuclear bombers to Turkey.

THE REAL PURPOSES: The pouring in of men, materials and nuclear weapons on a large scale was ludicrous if the public explanations of the two governments of why they were dispatched could be believed. They were terrifying if one realized the governments were lying and their real purpose was that indicated by Walter Lippmann (quoted in the Manchester **Guardian**, July 25):

"There is a school of thought [i.e., that of Dulles and Macmillan] both here and in Britain, which argues that the only settlement which is acceptable and which will really settle anything will be one which followed a restoration in Iraq and the elimination of Nasser. They would do now what Eden and Mollet attempted to do at Suez some two years ago. They are prepared to defy the Soviet Union and they would by force of arms establish a British-American protectorate in the Middle East."

But, as at Suez, things began to go wrong so quickly that the aggressors lost their nerve and got stuck halfway. What began as something sinister turned into something ineffably silly. For the Secur-

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NEXT STOP: LOS ANGELES

Un-Americans fuss, fizzle in Atlanta

FOR TWO AND-A-HALF days beginning July 29 the House Committee on UN-American Activities labored in the oppressive heat of Atlanta, Ga., to rouse the South to the peril of "Communist penetration." Most observers felt the Congressional witch-hunters brought forth little more than headlines; they left their Dixie audience cold.

Committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) shared the chore of presiding with Edwin Willis, (D-La.) who has a consistent record of voting against all civil rights legislation and who last year lauded Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus for his defiance of a Federal court order on school integration. Others who participated in the Committee's first foray into the South were Reps. William Tuck (D-Va.), advocate of massive resistance to integration, and Donald Jackson (R-Calif.).

BRADEN ON STAND: Among the witnesses who took the stand were two textile workers, an office receptionist, an air-conditioning mechanic, an insurance executive, a landscape gardener, a Chicago student, the editor and business manager of a pro-integration, pro-labor newsletter, and an official of the South's most effective interracial organization.

Committee members were sensitive to the fact that their inquisition had been opposed by nearly 200 Southern Negro leaders who, in an open letter, called upon them to stay out of the South or investigate real un-American activities of the white supremacists. Both Walter and Willis gave repeated assurances they were not concerned with integration—merely "communism."

The assurances did not take with the witnesses. One after another they accused the Committee of harassing them because of their activities against segregation. Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund,

(Continued on Page 6)

THE MAIL BAG

Where was Hubert?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Only a short time ago the peace movement in the United States was applauding Senator Humphrey's statesmanlike speech calling for a cessation of nuclear testing as a first step towards peace.

But the senator was absent when the Atomic Secrets Act came up for a vote. [It passed.]

If nuclear information is disseminated in accordance with the terms of the Act, agreements to ban nuclear warfare will be even harder to reach. To obtain peace we will require more courageous leadership than Humphrey's.

Henry Clay once said "I'd rather be right than be president." Mr. Humphrey apparently would rather be president.

Henry Abrams

Peace work

CHICAGO, ILL.

Perhaps some of the readers of this newspaper will send copies of peace newspapers, pamphlets or books to Shewt Kapot, Youth Organization, Mr. Ashish Kumar Auddy, 36-A Hazra Road, Calcutta 29, India.

Name Withheld

An appeal to Americans

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As a Christian Maronite from Lebanon I appeal. As an Arab student in this country, soon to be carrying back home the benefit of five years of learning, I appeal. And as a young man who admires the greatness of the U.S. I appeal to you, Americans. I appeal to you in the name of friendship, of understanding and for the sake of peace, a peace for all humanity.

I appeal to you not to let what is happening in the Middle East and recently in Lebanon to be undertaken in your name.

We hear accusations against the Arab Republic of massive interference in Lebanon, but we see American troops—not Arab Republic troops — infringing on a sovereign people. Such an interference is harmful to U.S. prestige in this area.

The claim that American interest in the Middle East is to check Communism is another distortion, for it is well known that the question is Arab liberation from Western foreign domination. Arab nationalism has proven that it does not embrace any ideology except that of Arab nationalism and liberation.

Furthermore, we Arab people, having suffered under English and French colonialism, cannot be blamed for resenting American interference, particularly when this country invites our former oppressors to "settle the Middle East problems."

How could the U.S. consult and invite France to participate in "securing peace in the Middle East" while France cannot maintain peace at home and in North Africa? How can one consult France whose bloody record in Algeria is an historical shame? Is this call upon France not an invitation for renewal of exploitation and revival of colonialism? Are we not as entitled to our Arab Union as the Europeans to their federation and indeed to unity such as that achieved by the U.S. when she broke away from British domination? Lebanon cannot be independent any more than Connecticut can be independent of the U.S.

To be brief, I think the Iraqi events should be considered by the U.S. as a lesson that no government in our Arab world could survive if it does not represent the will of the people, whether protected by the Sixth Fleet or the Sixtieth.

It should not appear strange that we people are not afraid of Soviet Union domination. Our experiences have been bad with Western colonialism. We find no reason not to deal with the Soviet Union, particularly since it has shown a genuine friendship and offered its help. While on the other side we are always threatened with an invasion of Syria by Turkey (a member of the pro-Western Baghdad Pact) and by a British attack on Iraq.

We have made clear many times that we are not communists. We do not believe in hostile pacts. No one should believe otherwise. It is about time that men regroup to find a way for peace rather than to form antagonistic blocs.

Eid Dib

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BANGKOK, July 29 (AP)—The Excise Dept. reports Thailand has 52,000 registered opium smokers who pay the government the equivalent of five million dollars annually in taxes. The government emphasized it is trying to stop the use of opium.

San Diego Union, 7/29.

One year free subscription for each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. G. M. W., San Diego, Calif.

Wants a pal

JOHANNESBURG, S.A.

I am nearly 10 years old and I would like to have a pen friend in America please can you help me.

Patrick Bernstein
154 Regent St., Observatory

The Killian Case

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The GUARDIAN carried a story on July 1, 1957, on the Taft-Hartley case of John J. Killian highlighting the fact that the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals had upheld Killian's conviction despite the fact that one of the issues in his appeal was the precise issue on which the Supreme Court had ordered a reversal in the Jencks case. You also informed your readers of this court's reversal of its own decision in August of 1957, on the basis of the Jencks decision.

The appellate court's belated recognition of the Supreme Court decision, however, had little effect on the determination of the prosecution to ignore the Supreme Court. My husband was forced to submit to a second trial in Chicago in April of 1958, before the same judge and with the case resting again on the paid testimony of the same informers.

The prosecution in the second trial took the position that the Jencks decision was invalidated by the legislation that followed.

The practical effect of this interpretation was to limit rather than to expand the opportunity for the defense to attack the credibility of these specially protected witnesses. A comparison of the trial records of the first and second trials reveals that time after time the defense was forbidden to ask questions of these paid witnesses in the second trial that they had been permitted to ask in the first trial.

How can the government hope to be sustained in this affront to the appellate courts? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that at this point, because of lack of funds, we have no assurance of even being able to bring this case before an appellate court. The obscurity, isolation and poverty of the defendant all contribute to the difficulty of raising the large sums needed to continue his case. Owing money for the cost of the first trial and appeal and for the second trial, we now face a desperate race against time to raise the money to pay for the trial record and for printing necessary for the appeal. Failure to raise these amounts means loss by default not only of one man's freedom, but of the opportunity to restore important individual rights to each of us.

We urge readers to please forward any help they can give to meet these printing costs to Herman Kuehne, Chairman, Killian Defense Committee, c/o U.E. Local 1111, 233 West Greenfield Avenue, Milwaukee 4, Wisconsin.

Gloria Killian

I. O. Ford

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

This $25 is in memory of I. O. Ford, one of the co-defendants in the Louisville trial of the Bradens. Mr. Ford died June 17 in Los Angeles at 83. His imprisonment in Louisville for many months aggravated his condition and he never recovered sufficiently after he finally won freedom.

Mr. Ford devoted his entire adult life to supporting every phase of progessive action in our country.

Name Withheld

Reynolds News, London

"Is that the television studios? Will you switch on the interference, please—the children won't go to bed."

There'll be some changes

LONGVIEW, TEX.

Here are a few quotations from Negro leaders at a rural community "Pay Your Poll Tax" meeting in East Texas:

Small farmer: "I'm tired of getting just soda crackers—I want some cake, too."

Preacher: "A legislator who doesn't represent all the people in his district just isn't fit to be there."

Teacher: "We must feel responsible that not only our children but that all children get the best schools possible. We must fight for all boys and girls —not just Negro boys and girls."

Possible candidate: "I'm tired of always running from something. Isn't it about time we colored people started running for something?"

Religious leader: "We must have a definite interest in people, above the color line. I fight hard to keep malice and hate and prejudice from my heart."

This meeting was in a section where Negroes have a two-to-one vote majority, yet all school trustees, county officials and state legislators are white. However, for several years now, this voting majority has been able, by careful study and concentration, to elect relatively fair and friendly school trustees. Keep your eyes on this little patch of the deep South! There may be some new names on the 1958 ballots.

Name Withheld

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REPORT TO READERS

Two lives to save

SING SING PRISON's ugly electric chair was scheduled to take the lives of four young men this week. On Sept. 6, 1957, they tried to hold up a Queens, N. Y., delicatessen. The two younger, now 17 and 20, were "lookouts"; the older ones, perhaps 20 and 21, entered the store. The oldest had a gun.

The proprietor rushed at them, the youth with the gun pulled the trigger, and all fled. The proprietor died of a bullet wound. The four young men were arrested and indicted for first degree murder. All four are Negroes. Of a limited number of Negroes on the jury panel, one qualified for service but was excluded by peremptory challenge of the prosecutor.

The all-white jury found all four guilty of first degree murder and made no recommendation for leniency. In the same period in Queens County two other juries recommended mercy in cases involving (1) a robber who stabbed an old woman to death with a dozen or more knife thrusts before taking her pocketbook; and (2) a man who shot a taxi driver in the back in order to rob him. Both latter criminals were white men.

At the conclusion of the trial, counsel for all four defendants moved to set aside the verdict because the jury was all-white, but all appeals eventually failed and the death sentences were scheduled to be carried out during the week of August 11.

After a clemency hearing in the state capitol at Albany July 30, Governor Averell Harriman commuted the sentences of the two "lookouts" to life imprisonment, but up to the GUARDIAN's press time the governor had taken no action in behalf of the other two. Of these two, one has a temporary court stay to permit the preparation of an appeal to federal courts on constitutional grounds. Counsel for the other is seeking a similar stay.

EXECUTIONS in Sing Sing are usually carried out on Thursday nights. This means that if an execution is scheduled for this week, it is for the night of Aug. 14.

Now, while there is still time to act, we appeal to Governor Harriman—and ask you to join us by letter, telephone or telegraph in the appeal—to commute the death sentences of the others. Governor Harriman should be thanked and applauded for acting in behalf of the two younger men. Yet the law itself makes no distinction between "lookouts" and other participants if a death occurs during an armed robbery. None of the men is a hardened criminal. They are all young. Nor does the law make any distinction because of race or color, but juries obviously do, and the governor should be asked to recognize this fact by granting mercy to all.

FURTHERMORE, we believe that every death sentence should be the subject for people's appeals for clemency. Surely the electric chair, the gas chamber, the gallows, the firing squad must one day be relegated to the museum of horrors of the past, with the cross, the rack and screw and St. Catherine's wheel. The state is never stronger or healthier for having exercised its privilege of taking human life; crime is not deterred, nor can one killing be seriously regarded as atonement for another.

Humane, mature and modern laws will one day replace the medieval eye-for-an-eye structure which is now the "law" in much of the so-called civilized world. Already in 27 countries of Europe and Latin-America the death penalty is no longer levied. Six of our 48 states have either outlawed it, or use it only on murderers who commit further murders in prison.

Until the law is humanized everywhere, the people must look to the executive branches of our government for humanity.

THE NAMES of the youths Governor Harriman has spared are William Wynn, 17, and Thomas Frye, 20. Those still facing death sentences are Jackson Turner Jr., 21, and Ralph Dawkins, 22. All were nearly a year younger when their crime was committed. If not the color of their skin, what else deprived them of jury recommendations of clemency which accompanied murder verdicts for far more atrocious crimes at the same time in the same N. Y. county? Of more than 3,000 executions in the U. S. in the second quarter of this century, more than half, 53.7 percent, of those killed were Negroes—at a time when Negroes represented only 10 percent of the population.

Governor Harriman should be asked to weigh all these considerations, and to extend executive clemency to all of the convicted youths.

—THE GUARDIAN.

CHAMPIONS OF EQUALITY NEED THEIR OWN PARTY

Faubus election emboldens segregationists

By Louis E. Burnham

WHATEVER THEIR POLITICAL bias, observers agreed last week that Gov. Orval Faubus' resounding victory in the July 29 Arkansas Democratic primary election will reverberate in the political life of the nation for some time.

In near-complete returns Faubus polled 255,086 votes to 57,966 for Chancery Judge Lee Ward of Paragould and 55,846 for Chris Finkbeiner, a Little Rock meat packer.

The first reaction to the landslide triumph of the South's most notorious symbol of violent resistance to school integration may come in a St. Louis federal courtroom. There, on Aug. 4, the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals heard arguments on the NAACP appeal from a lower-court decision postponing integration in Little Rock's Central High School until January, 1961. Its ruling is expected in a matter of weeks.

THE RETREAT: While the Circuit Court last year had ordered the Little Rock school board to proceed with its token program of integration, there was no certainty it would not now be affected by the changed situation in Arkansas. A year ago there were groups of liberal white citizens rousing public support for integration; today they are silent.

A year ago Pulitzer prize-winning editor Harry S. Ashmore of the Arkansas **Gazette** called for compliance with the Supreme Court school decisions. Today, apparently conceding the battle, if not the war, to the White Citizens' Council and the segregationist Mother's League of Central High, he supports Circuit Court Judge Harry Lemley's view that conditions at the school last year were "intolerable."

And, as if intended for the consideration of the Appeals judges now sitting on the case, Ashmore wrote: "It [intolerable] is a mild word for the conditions that will exist in September if the Negro children are ordered back to school by the higher court."

FAR-REACHING EFFECTS: Should the Court heed Ashmore's counsel of calamity, seven Negro children who are entitled to continue their schooling in Central High will be returned to the all-Negro Horace Mann High School pending final review in the Supreme Court. In the event the Circuit Court orders them back to Central, they will face a vindictive and politically-refurbished Faubus. The N.Y. **Times** saw the picture as "a most depressing one" and hoped that the Governor "will not be so flushed with his electoral victory as to try to use Arkansas bayonets, as he once did, to keep children out of school."

Immediate effects of the Faubus victory could not be localized in Arkansas. Virginia die-hards particularly — faced with court orders for September integration in Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk and Newport News—saw in the vote a vindication of their network of new jim-crow laws and transparent tactics of evasion. Virginia statutes oblige the Governor to close any school which integrates voluntarily or under court decree, and permits counties to set up "private" lily-white schools.

ARKANSAS' MAN ON A HORSE
The Faubus victory cheered the KKK

In Charlottesville and Newport News Negro applicants for September admission to white schools have been required to take special tests (two days' written; two days' oral) to determine their fitness on such grounds as "character" and "personality." The refusal last week of a group of students to take the tests guarantees further time-consuming litigation despite the "final" orders of the Courts.

THE FUTURE: The long-term significances of the Faubus' victory are even more disturbing than any likely immediate consequence. Throughout the South the architects of massive resistance greeted the outcome with unrestrained glee. The Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils would certainly be emboldened, and candidates were expected to read into the returns the lesson that open defiance of the Constitution is the best assurance of public preferment.

Coming on the heels of victories for rabid segregationists in Alabama and South Carolina primaries, the Arkansas voting was but the latest registration of an uninterrupted Dixiecrat resurgency in the South. Indications were that Northern Democrats—even those who, like Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.), viewed Faubus' victory as "a disappointing thing"—would now and in the 1960 convention try to dicker with the Dixiecrats instead of battling them.

And when it comes to tolerance of Dixiecrats, the Northern Democrats are more than matched by the nation's Republicans. The Washington **Post** pointed out: "The President of the United States has never spoken out in support of the moral imperatives behind the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. He has done little to rally moderate Southerners to the defense of law and order or to evoke the national allegiance."

THE LESSON: The lesson of the Faubus campaign—and of the last four years in the South—would seem to be that rabid segregationists cannot be defeated by luke-warm moderates. Appeals for "law and order" and grudging, token compliance are no match for the rallying cry of bitter-end massive resistance.

Neither of Faubus' opponents gave their constituents a real choice. Both Ward and Finkbeiner opposed integration. Finkbeiner, in fact, proposed if elected to call all Southern Congresmen together and suggest to them legislation to nullify the Supreme Court decision. The losers differed from their victor in that Ward promised not to lead an "insurrection" against the Federal Government and both declared themselves for "law and order."

The masses of Southern voters must be given a real choice on the question of segregation even though it may be certain that they'll choose wrong now. Eventually they can be depended upon to choose right almost in direct proportion as the issue is plainly put and forcefully argued among them.

AN ALTERNATIVE: If the Democratic and Republican parties in the South offer no channels for such a challenge to the entrenched segregationists, then champions of equality must forge their own political machinery. This may require independent candidacies at first and eventually a new party with but a single indispensable crusade: to end segregation.

Those who do this will be in a tough fight. They may be spat upon, cursed, pelted with rotten fruit and ganged-up on. But nine Negro school children survived such treatment at Little Rock High School last year and the nation is better off for their courage.

Unless Southerners and Northerners take bolder steps to win the battle where in the end it must be won—in the political arena—the nation will have to suffer the consequences of Arthur Krock's sour prediction: that integration will not take a lustrum [a five-year period] but generations.

Baltimore Afro-American
"Don't fret, child! Pappy won't let 'em take y' alive."

LAMONT CHALLENGES OLD PARTY CANDIDATES

New York petition drive off to good start

AS FAR AS a statewide canvas could reach with limited forces and funds in the first week of circulation of petitions for a N.Y. Independent-Socialist electoral ticket, returns indicated a ready welcome among N. Y. progressives of a resumption of independent ballot action.

The canvassers are seeking a minimum of 50 signatures of registered voters in each of the state's 62 counties and a required statewide total of 12,000 signatures to nominate Corliss Lamont for U. S. Senator, John T. McManus for governor, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for lieutenant-governor, Scott K. Gray Jr. for attorney-general and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for comptroller.

Teams touring upstate counties in the eastern portion of the state reported the minimum requirements fulfilled or in sight in some 20 counties. Teams fanning out from Buffalo were confident of ten more. Scattered reports are coming in from hundreds of additional petitions in the hands of supporters of the ticket who are residents of each of the counties.

The canvass must be completed effectively within the month of August for filing with the N. Y. Secy. of State during the week of Sept. 2-9. To assure success of the petition effort, the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee took ads in the GUARDIAN, **The Worker** the **Militant** and other Left publications seeking funds and additional forces to roll up safe margins not only in the 62 counties but in the grand total required from the state at large.

LAMONT CHALLENGE: In a statement on the Middle East situation, Corliss Lamont urged Democratic aspirants for the senatorial nomination "not to wait for a possible Summit Conference to take a clearcut position."

"The Independent-Socialist Party and I have already denounced the landing of U.S. Marines in Lebanon as an incendiary blunder and a violation of United Nations principles," Lamont said.

"But you, Mr. James A. Farley, where do you stand on this issue which has brought the world to the brink of war? And you, Thomas Finletter, and you, Edward T. Dickinson and Mayor Wagner? There is no need for you to wait for a possible Summit Conference to take a clearcut position.

"Another question I am asking is whether you believe that the U. S. should match the Soviet Union's suspension of nuclear weapons tests by immediately stopping all such tests itself. I have long advocated this step by the American government. And the question is especially appropriate now, because this very week —on Aug. 6—is the 13th anniversary of the devastating U. S. attack on Hiroshima with atomic bombs.

"I address these same questions to the various candidates for Governor: to Averell Harriman, Nelson Rockefeller, Leonard W. Hall, Paul W. Williams and Walter J. Mahoney.

"The people of New York are entitled to know where the candidates for top office in this State stand on these crucial issues that now face this country."

VISITING M. P.: Supporters of the Lamont-McManus ticket who planned to attend a "wing-ding" in behalf of the campaign at Wingdale-on-the-Lake in upper Westchester County, the weekend of Aug. 15-17 learned of an unexpected treat with the announcement that British M. P. Harold Davies of the "Victory for Socialism" group of the British Labor Party will be at the camp that weekend to speak on "Peace and the Middle East."

Davies was scheduled to arrive in New York Aug. 12 for a 6-week tour of the country which will include a mass meeting at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles Aug. 22 with Dr. Linus Pauling on the dangers of war and the H-bomb. Davies is a leader in the British peace movement and was one of the organizers of the H-Bomb Protest March on Aldermaston last spring.

CAPT. HUGH N. MULZAC
For peace, rights, jobs

He will be in Denver Aug. 18-19 and will speak also in San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, Chicago, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, Toronto, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Boston and N. Y. before his departure Sept. 21.

Reservations for the Wingdale weekend and other communications may be addressed to the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee at 799 Broadway, New York 3. GRamercy 3-2141.

Mildred McAdory Edelman, secy. of the Campaign Committee of the Peoples Rights Party, announced Aug. 3 that Benjamin J. Davis, former New York City Councilman and at present Chairman of the New York State Communist Party, would be the People's Rights candidate for N. Y. state senator from the 21st (Harlem) district.

THEY'RE PRINTING, DISCUSSING AND THINKING

What the independent Left is doing in Britain

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

AFTER TWO YEARS of ferment among British progressives, set off by the shocks of 1956—from the 20th CPSU congress to the Hungarian uprising—an "independent Left" has settled down as a small but lively feature of the political landscape here. Initially this was a pure "discussion" movement, devoted to more or less agonizing reappraisal of Marxism and trends in the U.S.S.R. by intellectuals of the over-40 generation who had broken with the Communist Party. Many of the ex-Communists who flocked in, seeking in reality a sort of political psychoanalyst's couch on which to remasticate the hash of the past, have already flocked or drifted out again.

But while the discussion continues to be led mainly by over-40's, the under-30 (post-Spain, post-Hitler) generation has come more and more to predominate at forums and as readers of the new "independent Left" journals. These loosely-organized young people are beginning to develop new spearheads of political action, and sometimes to perform a valuable booster function inside the soporific body of the Labor Party.

THE NEW REASONER: Of the publications born out of the 1956 ferment, the most readable and maturely edited is **The New Reasoner,** published quarterly by E. P. Thompson of Halifax and John Saville of Hull, university teachers whom the CP expelled after the first two (mimeographed) issues appeared. Its ex-Communist editorial board is concerned with "socialist humanism" and culture, and positive analysis and reportage, rather than sectarian altercations. With contributors including Hyman Levy, Nazim Hikmet, Doris Lessing, Leopold Infeld, K. Zilliacus, G. D. H. Cole, Jack Lindsay and **France-Observateur** editor Claude Bourdet, **The New Reasoner** is achieving a stature comparable with some of the best progressive publications in France.

(New Reasoner, Holly Bank, Whitegate, Halifax, Yorkshire, England.)

THE NEWSLETTER: The **Newsletter,** published by ex-Daily Worker reporter Peter Fryer, who left the CP after his reports on Hungary were suppressed, has become part of the "Trotzkyist" group snapping energetically at the orthodox Left. A small but devoted band of its disciples turns up at all progressive demonstrations with Leftist slogans, seeking especially to persuade trade unionists that nuclear arms industries must be outlawed. Its appeal—mainly to ex-Communists who want another tightly disciplined home—is limited in the present political climate.

(Newsletter, 180 Clapham High St., London SW 4, England.)

—Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

"Want to know what we think?"

THE U & LR: Universities & Left Review, fairly similar in political complexion to **The New Reasoner,** has featured an even broader range of contributors, from John Strachey to Isaac Deutscher to continuing CP members. The magazine's most valuable contribution to the movement was its pamphlet **The Insiders,** a discussion of the ownership of Britain's great monopolies and of the real control of its "socialized" industries.

Editorially it is on the massive and indigestible side, yet in three once-a-term issues the young Oxford intellectuals who launched it in 1957 have held a healthy 7,000 circulation extending well outside university circles.

They have done much more, by moving in on London and building up the ULR Club as a center for politically homeless intellectuals of the Left. The club's discussion forums, held weekly in London hotels during most of the winter months, have been jammed since their inception last spring. The informal social side is fostered by operation of a bar in the meeting-room lobby. This has become such a popular institution that the club rented its own premises in Soho; but these are already too small for the forums and are to be operated as a coffee-house and "Left Book Center" suitable for small gatherings, while the forums continue in hotels.

FILLING A NEED: ULR forum speakers, several of them drawing from 400 to 600 people, have ranged from Bourdet on Algeria to Cole on Capitalism to **Observer** drama critic Kenneth Tynan on Commitment in Criticism; from Basil Davidson and Doris Lessing on Africa to Lindsay Anderson on the **New Statesman** to **New Statesman** editor Kingsley Martin on Sex. The level of the floor discussions varies greatly—it is at its worst when the theme touches on the U.S.S.R. or basic Marxist theory—but the club is clearly filling a need of a particular group of people with a progressive drive.

The club is now even projecting discussions of the British Left in Paris and New York; if persons eager to discuss it exist in those cities, ULR undoubtedly will locate them. Chief sparkplug of all this activity is 23-year-old Ralph Samuel, an Oxford graduate of deceptively mild and bohemian appearance who, on a marginal diet, has devoted 16 hours a day to ULR since the end of 1956. Leadership of the club, deliberately non-hierarchical, is through committees which nobody appoints or elects and which any of its 700 members may attend. While not designed as a political action movement, it will, says Samuel, "go into action whenever the members show spontaneous readiness for it—that is, action which crystallizes an existing state of feeling."

As may be imagined, not all groups on the British Left are enthusiastic about ULR; all of them would find it profitable to study the causes of the response it has evoked.

(U & LR, Magdalen College, Oxford, England.)

China takes a hand

(Continued from Page 1)

any informal conferences on the side would probably come to no more than a polite chit-chat if Khrushchev could buttonhole Eisenhower on his way to dinner.

Macmillan said the President was right but again he threw in the lure of high-level talks on the side. France's de Gaulle had meanwhile suggested going back to Khrushchev's original proposal of an out-and-out closed-door summit meeting in Geneva. Khrushchev, impatient at the run-around, agreed with de Gaulle. The NATO powers met for two days and failed to work out a united front on the matter.

Then on Aug. 1 President Eisenhower repeated his suggestion for an Aug. 12 Security Council meeting in which all the Council rules would apply. The emphasis, he indicated, would not be on the threat to peace that comes from the landing of troops and the movement of fleets but from radio broadcasts and other forms of "indirect aggression" which, he said, had brought the threat of global war.

THE SIDE-STEP: The **Wall St. Journal** summed up the pattern of the curious diplomatic dance: "Secretary of State Dulles marched boldly toward a summit meeting while spelling out American plans for the conference calculated to make Russia balk at the idea."

James Reston of the **N. Y. Times** said the question was whether there should be a smoke-filled room at the summit. The U. S., which had invented the smoke-filled room, was vigorously opposed to seeing its President closeted in one with Khrushchev, and was almost as vigorously opposed to seeing the President slugging it out with Khrushchev before the TV cameras. In his Aug. 1 letter to Khrushchev, the President had spoken up for the "small nations," insisting he would not permit the big powers to dictate to little ones.

If such a policy were followed it would embarrass the UN Security Council where the big powers are permanently represented and wield a veto, where the arm-twisting of the little nations is a casual sport of the delegates' lounge. Few observers—least of all, the U. S. delegation—ever expect Panama to play as decisive a role as the U. S. It was a diverting side-step in the dance away from the summit.

BRITISH PRESSURE: There was no doubt that public opinion, particularly British opinion, was dragging Dulles and the President toward the summit. The British public had clamored for a summit meeting even before the crisis. Prime Minister Macmillan was reaching unprecedented popularity for a Tory in espousing that cause.

The London **New Statesman** pointed out that he, of all world leaders, urgently needed such a meeting: "Our 2,000 men in Amman, originally intended as the spearhead for the reconquest of Iraq, . . . now have no intelligible role beyond serving as bodyguard to an unpopular king. . . . Yet they cannot be removed until Mr. Macmillan can prove to his party that they have achieved their object. And only a summit conference—from which some regional agreement, however vague, might emerge—seems likely to supply him with material for a convincing brief."

The GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer wrote from London that a "Stop the War" campaign had been launched by Labor M. P.'s and trade union leaders who warned in a joint statement that Dulles and Macmillan "have by no means abandoned the idea of further explosive moves in the Middle East." The group rallied a get-out-of-Jordan meeting at Trafalgar Square. Peace committees lobbied their M. P.'s. Iraqi students paraded through London. Riding the tide, Deputy Prime Minister R. A. Butler called for a "long-term policy not for imposing our will on nationalism in the Middle East but for living with it." Schaffer still found it sad that the push in Labor's ranks had to come primarily from below and not from the Party machine. The hopeful note in Britain was that this time, at least, the machine was making no move to suppress it.

LANDINGS CONTINUE: In the U.S. the protests were much fainter but growing more audible all the time. The sixth biennial convention of the California Fedn. of Young Democrats voted 76-71 "for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon." The executive committee of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action in Oregon passed a similar resolution. Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy in many parts of the country went on record for withdrawal. Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) wrote in the **Reporter** that "now we are in Lebanon and our immediate preoccupation is to get out of it." Dennis Healy in the **New Republic** wrote that Britain and the U.S. "should finally recognize that the policy behind their intervention has now been demonstrated as a total loss."

Nevertheless U. S. troops, tanks and heavy equipment continued to pour into Lebanon. Last week there were already 13,000 Marines and still more were reported on their way from German bases. Tanks were being unloaded at Beirut. The U. S. now has almost twice as many troops as the whole Lebanese Army.

dock in Washington Post

The only official explanation of the continuing reinforcements was that the troops and tanks had been put "in the pipeline" when the crisis broke. It was plain that if such massive forces had been mobilized, the objective must have been far bigger than Lebanon or the protection of President Camille Chamoun. Why the pipeline could not be stopped or the flow reversed, no one would say.

REVOLT GOES ON: Within Lebanon Gen. Fuad Chehab had been quietly elected President by the Lebanese parliament 48-7. Rebel leaders left their barricaded headquarters to vote for him. Later, in his cellar headquarters within the rebel part of Beirut, rebel spokesman Saeb Salam said his followers were "more or less happy," but they kept their guns and powder dry. The revolution, in its curious state of armed truce, would go on until Chamoun and the U. S. Marines left. In the hills Kamal Jumblatt, the socialist rebel leader, said: "The struggle will begin again if Chamoun does not go." N. Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent Joe Alex Morris Jr. wrote that he found nothing to support U. S. Ambassador Robert McClintock's "optimistic view that a rapid political settlement of the rebellion is in prospect."

Marine commanders said they would not leave Lebanon until asked to do so by the authorized government, and Chamoun is entitled to hold the Presidency until Sept. 24. Meanwhile the tanks rumbled ashore.

In Baghdad, where the crisis started, the U. S. Ambassador offered formal recognition and "best wishes" to the new Iraqi regime. It was almost as humiliating a ceremony as a formal surrender, for only two weeks earlier—before it had become clear that the road to Baghdad was the road to atomic war—President Eisenhower had publicly denounced the leaders of the new regime as "murderers."

TRACTOR PLANT CAN'T GET ENOUGH WORKERS

China industrial boom causes labor shortage

By Constance Mercer
Special to the Guardian

TIENTSIN

THE MANAGER of the Tientsin Tractor Works complained: "I asked the labor bureau for 1,000 workers this month. But they could only give me 300. We'd like 6,000 this year, but they won't give us more than 3,000. Other shops need hands as badly as we do. I guess there are only so many people."

This factory is typical of hundreds of others all over this bustling North China port and industrial city. "Help Wanted" signs are on walls in every street, and on the day after high school closed, long lines of kids were being hired. It's the same in nearby Peking and every other major city in the country, for China, with output in May 46% above May, 1957, is experiencing the greatest boom of any time during her five-year drive for industrialization.

Putting into action the Communist Party's new "General Line for Socialist Construction," factories are springing up in every town and even in the countryside. Every county will have its own small iron and steel mill, farm implements factory, fertilizer plant, power plant and other shops. Small workshops expand to become bigger factories; former auto parts shops are producing complete autos.

Blitz, Bombay

"Slap! Bang! . . . You can hear for yourselves how Moscow and Peking are quarrelling."

Between January and mid-June, more than 150 types of tractors and 40 kinds of motor vehicles were trial-produced.

This method gets usable models where they are needed in a hurry. After a year or so, the best features of all models will probably be combined into a smaller number for standardized production.

BUMPER CROPS: Last year's high school graduates were encouraged to go to the farms and have helped produce the biggest harvest in China's history (winter wheat alone is 52% over last year's and greater than the total U.S. wheat production). This year's youngsters will almost all find jobs in factories, which generally demand a high school or junior high school education before hiring.

But all this can't satisfy the demands of farmers for pumps, generators, gasoline engines, tractors and other farm tools. With their great success in water conservation, they've been able to plant a greater acreage which is bringing good yields despite a severe drought. Their demand for machines is a real necessity to keep up with the crops.

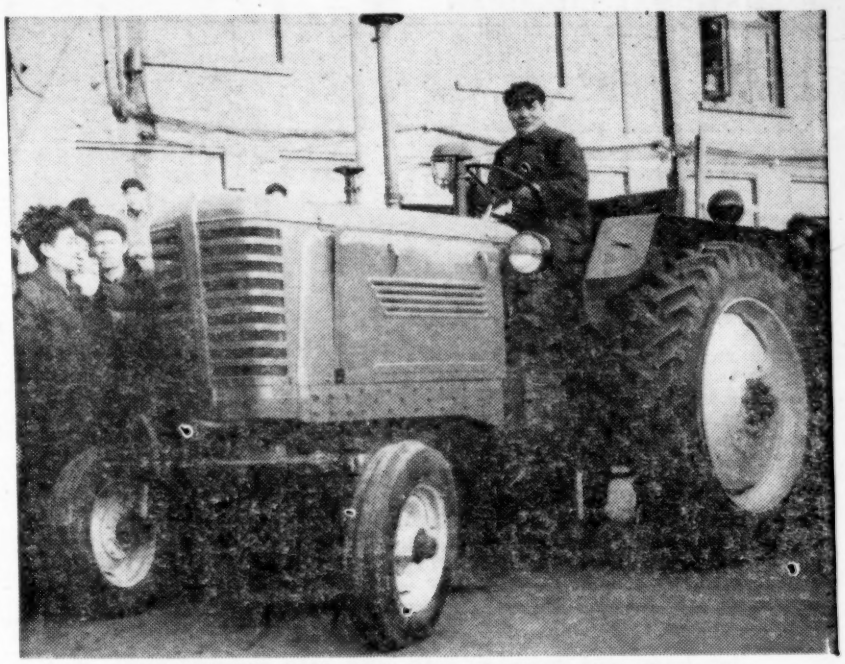
The dormitory which the Tientsin Tractor Works maintains for visiting farmer-buyers is overcrowded. The plant manager complains that even with extra production "we still can't satisfy the buyers. They won't go home. They don't even ask the price."

EXPANSION: Touring the tractor works, I got some idea of how the peasants are going to get their machines and why they won't have to wait much longer. "You must excuse the mess," apologized the manager. "We can't build fast enough to keep up with production." Sure enough, the works had spilled right out into the yard under the manager's window where the crews were finishing the assembly of the last batch of gasoline engines.

In a lean-to of boards and straw mats were the two sample tractors, the 40-h.p. Iron Ox and a 25-h.p. model, both just back from several weeks' workout in the country and being checked for improvements needed in design or manufacture. Both types will come in diesel-driven or coal or charcoal gas-powered models.

"One trouble is that these are a little heavy," said the manager. "If we could use more alloys and high grade steels they'd be better, but China has plenty of uses for those, too, and we can't wait until they come our way." The important thing, he said, was that tractors **were** being made. From September, they'll roll out in mass production, 1,000 before the end of the year and an annual 30,000 by 1960.

THE UPWARD SPIRAL: Did the fact that it couldn't get all the workers it wanted mean that the plant would produce under capacity?, I asked. The manager reluctantly said yes. "But we'll go ahead as fast as we can anyway. All of our office staff spend some time on the bench and we have to put apprentices at the advanced jobs sooner. We also use part-time help."



THE CHINESE CALL THIS NEW TRACTOR THE 'IRON OX'
They can't build them fast enough for an expanding agriculture

He called over a couple of lads who said their age was 13. They do "miscellaneous labor" as one of them informed me proudly—sweeping, sorting parts and other jobs half a day a week by arrangement with their junior high school. Most of the schools in the country have now adopted this system where each student does a few hours on some job a week as part of his training. But to the tractor plant their help means real production by freeing others for skilled jobs.

"Even so," the manager went on, "we can make that 30,000 into 50,000 in 1960. The first figure is based on our present rate of output, but that can improve through the technical revolution." In China this means getting all the workers to thinking up short-cuts, scrapping old-fashioned methods and inventing new ones, rather than through speed-up.

This spring in three days the workers at the tractor works made 16,630 suggestions. To date 1,542, all combining many proposals, have been put into effect. "We increased this year's output 340% over last year's, mostly by the rise in production-consciousness," the manager said. "We'll beat this target too."

Path to peace

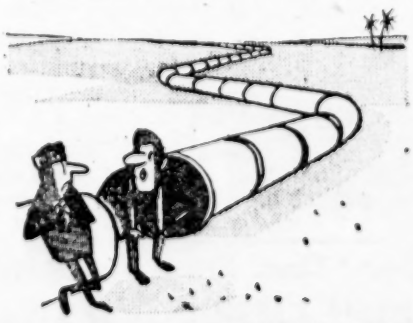
(Continued from Page 1)

ity Council would not swallow the story that the two aggressors were acting 'morally' and 'legally,' i.e., in conformity with the Charter. Their European allies had grave misgivings.

DULLES' HAND FORCED: The Afro-Asian world was bitterly hostile. The Iraq Republic gave no excuse for attack: it established its authority quickly and easily and was recognized by a large number of States. It kept the oil flowing and protected American and British lives and property. In Britain, Labor went into action against intervention and so did a large section of the national press.

Then Khrushchev put the pigeon—a dove of peace—among the cats with his urgent demand for a Summit Conference on the Middle East. Nearly the whole British press and, of course, the Labor Party said: "Accept at once, and no nonsense." Mr. Macmillan, with the Suez fiasco and the fate of Eden fresh in mind, the ominous Gallup polls before his eyes, and a general election looming ahead, knew he would be committing political suicide if he said "No." So he said: "Yes, but through the Security Council."

That forced Mr. Dulles' hand. Apparently he was sore as a boil about it and particularly mad at the Labor Party for making Mac say "yes," so John Foster couldn't say "no." Our papers reported State Dept. officials praying that Khrushchev would balk at the Security Council, or at least start an argument, and deliver them from their nightmare fear that peace might break out.



London Daily Worker

"All I keep getting is someone saying 'Go Home.'"

But K. ruthlessly answered: "Yes—and please hurry." And so, in the words of the Washington **Post**, quoted by the BBC, "the Administration is being dragged, kicking and screaming, into a Conference it doesn't want." That goes for Macmillan, too, although he is a smoother operator than Mr. Dulles.

LABOR'S POLICY: They are right to fear a Summit Conference. For it marks the breakdown of their policy of trying to treat the U.S.S.R. as a negligible quantity and/or a potential enemy in the Middle East. And by holding the Conference in the Security Council, they have made it necessary to seek solutions that are consistent with the UN Charter.

That is not the case with the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine, sitting tight in Lebanon and Jordan, and the Dulles-Macmillan policy of counter-revolutionary intervention, sold to the public as "defense against Communist subversion and indirect Soviet aggression, even when masquerading as Arab nationalism."

The only Middle Eastern policy compatible with the Charter is that advocated by Aneurin Bevan on behalf of the Labor Party in the House of Commons on July 22. It is closely similar to the proposals made by the Soviet government.

Bevan called for:

- Coming to terms with Arab nationalism, even if it meant the progressive transfer of oil resources to Arab ownership, with appropriate commercial and technical safeguards;
- The canalizing of economic and technical aid through a UN Economic Commission for the Middle East, of which India and the four great powers would be members;
- A convention for the control of the traffic in arms;
- An understanding by the four great powers, as permanent members of the Security Council, to uphold the peace-keeping obligations of the Charter, notably those that prohibit resort to force or interference in the internal affairs of member states, and to refrain from recruiting allies or keeping forces or bases in the area except by mutual consent (e.g., a U.N. Police and Observer Corps under orders of the Security Council).

These agreements would replace the Baghdad Pact and the Doctrine.

THE ONLY PATH: Once a policy of peaceful coexistence based on the UN Charter prevails in the Middle East, the demand will become irresistible for a settlement of outstanding issues in Europe and the Far East along similar lines. That is in fact the only path to peace. But that kind of peace looks like a fate worse than atomic death to die-hard defenders of the old order.

That is why the Summit Conference is only a new phase in a fight that will go on until Labor beats the Tories and pulls the rug out from under Mr. Dulles by quitting NATO and SEATO, as well as the Baghdad Pact, and clearing the U.S. bombers and bases out of Britain.

Six C.P. heads freed

THE U. S. COURT of Appeals last week reversed the Smith Act convictions of six Communist Party leaders and dismissed the indictment. The three-man Court found that the six had been proved guilty only of "teaching and advocacy" of the need for revolution but not of incitement to action. The Supreme Court has held that the Smith Act does not outlaw the teaching of ideas but only violent revolutionary action.

The six who were freed are: Alexander Trachtenberg, George Blake Charney, William Norman, Fred M. Fine, Sidney Stein and James E. Jackson Jr. Convicted in 1956, they had been sentenced to from one to five years imprisonment.

The decision to reverse was unanimous but the dismissal of the indictment was the result of a 2-1 split. Chief Judge Charles E. Clark and Judge John C. Picket were for the dismissal. Judge Leonard Moore dissented.

Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

Inc., refused to answer any questions concerning his politics. He called upon the Congressmen to "investigate the atrocities against Negroes and Jews in the South."

UN-AMS CHALLENGED: When asked if he was author of the Negro leaders' statement, Braden refused to answer, but not before he had read the entire statement into the record. To Jackson's suggestion that the signers may not have known what they were signing, Braden retorted he was "sure the people who signed the letter will appreciate your aspersions about their intelligence."

Frank Wilkinson, who has headed up an Emergency Civil Liberties Comm. campaign to abolish the House Committee, challenged the Congressmen to cite him for contempt and face a court test on whether their operation is legal under the Constitution. After giving his name he refused to answer any questions, but claimed the Committee "stands in direct violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution." In his challenge to the Committee, which he said was made "as a matter of personal conscience and responsibility," Wilkinson is supported by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ted Shaw in Wall Street Journal

"North African campaign, Italian front, D-Day invasion, German front, Iwo Jima, South Pacific campaign, and Little Rock."

The sole Negro witness, Hunter O'Dell of Montgomery, Ala., was prevented from reading a prepared statement but by the time his testimony came to an end it was clear what he had in mind. Un-American activity began with the enslavement of Negroes and has been going on for nearly 300 years, he said. He advised the Committee to investigate the Rosa Ingram case, the murder of Isaiah Nixon for trying to vote and the "reign of terror" in Dawson, Ga. When Committee staff director Richard Arens gave O'Dell a lengthy discourse on the Committee's efforts to preserve "American freedom," the witness responded: "You're trying to preserve the segregation system, I see that."

ON TO L. A.: The hearing was opened by Marvin Griffin, the staunch segregationist governor of Georgia. He equated Americanism with states' rights and offered the Committee his vigorous support. Other Georgia officials made it plain the Committee had gone far afield in its search for "communists." State Atty. General Eugene Cook said he believed "Georgia probably has less communists than any other state." He welcomed the hearing, however, because, "it might keep them out." U. S. District Atty. James Dorsey said he knew nothing of communist activities in the Southeast and that the FBI has not turned any such cases over to him for prosecution.

Undeterred, the Congressional heresy-hunters used up another bit of their $300,000 appropriation, tucked away some Southern headlines, and retired to Washington for a brief respite. Since this is an election year, they are not taking much rest. Forty witnesses have already been subpenaed to appear at hearings in Los Angeles, Aug. 18-20. It is reported that subpenas for 30 others are ready to be served.

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Wm. F. Warde, Marxist writer and educator, on
"Fundamental Ideas of Socialism."
Discussion group meets on Sunday Mornings, 10:30 a.m. starting August 10, at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St., Los Angeles.

THE BIG MEETING!
HEAR TWO WORLD LEADERS OF THE FIGHT FOR PEACE
British Labor M.P. **HAROLD DAVIES**
Nobel Prize Winner **LINUS PAULING**
Mr. Davies, leader of the Victory for Socialism Group and organizer of the H-Bomb Protest March, will speak on **"Labor, Socialism and Peace."** Dr. Pauling, leader of world scientists against H-Bomb tests, will speak on **"The H-Bomb Menace."**
VINCENT HALLINAN, Chairman
FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 8 p.m.
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM, 9th & Grand, L. A. Admission $1
Auspices: Los Angeles Labor Forum

Detroit

"THE FBI—Growth of a Police State" Speaker, **Rita Shaw**, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Attorney General. Friday, Aug. 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

Cleveland

ERIC REINTHALER REVIEWS
John Strachey's "Contemporary Capitalism" Sun. Aug. 10, 8:30 p.m. at Spira's, 12520 Edmonton. Auspices: Cleveland Committee-in-Formation, **American Forum for Socialist Education.**

New York

CELEBRATE CIVIL LIBERTIES VICTORY—Major defeat for subversive list. First removal of any organization from "the List." **HARRY FLEISCHMAN**, Workers Defense League and **MAX SCHACHTMAN**. Central Plaza (air. cond.) 111 2nd Av. N.Y. Fri., Aug. 8, 8:30 p.m. **Ausp. ISL and SYL. Continue fight to end subversive list!**

MAINSTREAM STARLIGHT FORUMS
8:30 p.m. Sunday, Aug. 10
CARL MARZANI will discuss
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General

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Books and Publications

International Socialist Review
IN THE SUMMER ISSUE:
"Fuera Nixon!" Cries of "Little Rock" went with the stones hurled at the Vice President. Why did the Latin-American demonstrators claim they were taking a chapter out of U. S. history?
If your newsstand doesn't have it, send 50 cents for a copy. 116 University Pl., New York 3.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS
August Issue:
NATIONAL COMMITTEE CPUSA:
A Policy for Labor
EUGENE DENNIS:
The Struggle for Peace
BOB THOMPSON:
On the Work and Consolidation of the Party
HERBERT APTHEKER:
Mid-East Crisis; War or Peace?
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NEW YORK REACHES OUT . . .

to friends throughout the country

. . . TO HELP PUT PEACE ON THE BALLOT IN OUR STATE

Last June in New York City a United Independent—Socialist Electoral Conference brought together more than 500 New York progressives—independents and socialists of all persuasions. The Conference voted to seek to place independent candidates in the field for U.S. Senator and the top N.Y. state offices to speak and work for peace, jobs, civil rights and liberties and for consideration of socialist alternatives for America's future.

Our candidate for senator is Corliss Lamont, our state's leading advocate of East-West understanding. Our state candidates are John T. McManus for governor; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for lieutenant-governor; Scott K. Gray Jr. for attorney-general; and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for comptroller.

We reach out now to friends throughout the country to help us put these candidates on the ballot. As this appeal is written, volunteer crews are traversing our state from the Hudson Valley to the far reaches of the St. Lawrence River, on the Canadian border, with Independent-Socialist petitions. They must collect a required 12,000 valid signatures—at least 50 in each of the state's 62 counties.

We appeal to you, to your friends and shopmates and all who share your views, to help us with this historic task.

Funds are urgently needed NOW, to keep our petition crews moving throughout the state. They must complete their task this month—in August. Petitions must be filed the first week in September. There is no time to lose. Please help us now, as quickly and generously as you can. Your help can assure that peace will be on the ballot in our state and nation this year.

United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee
799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

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BOOKS

Pauling tells the world: 'No More War!'

IN A SEASON when atomic artillery is moved into position in the Middle East, when heads of state exchange letters in an atmosphere of impending doom with only weeks or days to prevent catastrophe—it is good to hear a quiet voice of sanity saying: "No More War." That is the title of Nobel laureate Linus Pauling's latest book.*

This is a primer for those who view the TV newscaster with alarm; it is a handbook of peace. With the simplicity of an expert, Pauling describes the nature of nuclear weapons: fission bomb, fission-fusion bomb, the super bomb capable of wreaking incredible devastation by a process of fission-fusion-fission. From official testimony at government hearings he sketches the first 60 days of nuclear warfare in the U. S. in which at least 108 million out of 175 million people would be dead.

HE GOES FROM an elementary discussion of atomic and molecular structure to a simplified short course in genetics. He explains the nature of mutations and the extreme improbability that any mutation can be beneficial. By way of illustration he quotes a professor: "What is the chance that a typographical error would improve Hamlet?" Then Pauling demonstrates how radiation produces mutations and we are face to face with the fall-out horror again: the stillborn, the deformed, the infants doomed to a shortened life-span.

But there is such a luminous, unshakeably hopeful quality about Linus Pauling that this book becomes no collection of horrors but a reassuring note of sanity. He demonstrates that an atomic war is unthinkable and that the unthinkable cannot happen. In his preface he writes: "We shall soon enter upon the continuing period of peace, a period when there will be no more war, when disputes between nations will be settled by the application of man's power of reason, by international law. It is the development of great nuclear weapons that requires that war be given up, for all time. The forces that can destroy the world must not be used."

PAULING WOULD begin a new era with an international agreement to ban nuclear tests because each test does some people some harm—and it is not relevant to argue how much—and because such an agreement would be the first step to a world of "law and order" which Pauling describes as the imperative requirement of our time.

He includes a capsule summary of the Soviet and U. S. positions on such an agreement, and notes how close the two powers are to agreement on controls. He proposes as an ultimate step the establishment of a World Peace Research Organization within the UN to found a great graduate school of the world in some calm pastoral setting where scholars could scientifically develop the ways of peace. The WPRO would include specialists in all fields to research the problem of settling the world's problems peacefully.

Pauling is aware that mankind has always up to now settled its differences by force. Force has produced great good as well as evil. Civilizations have been won as well as lost by force. In the days when weapons could kill singly or in small groups sheer numbers could impose the will of a majority upon a tyrannous minority, making a rough-hewn democratic decision. That time is past, he writes. Now weapons in the hands of a few can kill millions at a blow.

NATIONS HAVE HAD their own law: that agreements are kept when they can be enforced, broken when they no longer conform to the interests of a state. Pauling says that the Bomb has forced men at last to keep the agreements they make. In his appendix he includes Albert Schweitzer's "A Declaration of Conscience" and Albert Einstein's statement: "Only Then Shall We Find Courage"—both eloquently hailing the world of law that must come as the only alternative to disaster.

Einstein wrote his statement in the N. Y. **Times** in 1946 in the dawn of the nuclear era when the weary record of quibbling negotiations, of backing and filling and false starts was only beginning. Still he warned that "we place too much faith in legalisms, treaties and mechanisms" and that "America's decision will not be made over a table in the United Nations." He urged: "To the village square we must carry the facts of atomic energy. From there must come America's voice."

Twelve year later armies and fleets are mobilized, diplomats still fumble with legalisms and evasions, and the voice from the village square still has not been heard. Perhaps the voice may grow louder when **No More War** hits the village bookshop.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

* *NO MORE WAR, by Linus Pauling. Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y. Indexed, 254 pp. $3.50.*

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NEWSPAPER

THE GALLERY

PERRY COMO, WILLIAM HOLDEN and Rock Hudson led the list of ideal husband prototypes in a survey of 20-year-old women in 12 cities in the U. S. Eisenhower, giving away 20 years, tied Tab Hunter for fourth place. As a possible portent for 1960, John F. Kennedy placed eighth while Richard Nixon was nosed out by Jerry Lewis for tenth place. Dulles and Stevenson ran out of the money. . . . Another poll of 15,000 teen-agers revealed that 96% expected to have more than two bathrooms in their future homes. . . . Yamaura Shoten of Yokohama, Japan, flag manufacturing company, is hiring seamstresses as fast as it can find them. Normally it exports 2,000,000 American flags a year, including 600,000 Confederate flags. With the addition of Alaska to the Union, it expects a banner year. . . . A sign in the window of a New York private detective agency reads: "We give you peace of mind. We investigate husbands, wives and lovers."

MRS. PAULINE STOCK, member of a delegation of 16 women who visited the U. S. S. R. under the sponsorship the American Assn. of University Women, reported: "From the teen-age children who crowded around our bus seeking coins for their foreign collections to the aged women in church congregations and in hotel service, and the people we met on the streets, we received nothing but courtesy and kindness." Courtesy, it seemed, was not taught at the university these women attended. At a reception in their honor given by Mme. Lydia Petrova of the Soviet Women's Committee, the American women read off a list of their contributions to peace. When Mme. Petrova rose to recite what Russian women had done, the Americans rose on signal from their chairman, Dr. Wilfreda Lytle, and walked from the room.

London Daily Mirror
"You just can't help liking old J.P.—if you don't, he fires you."

Later when the editors of **Soviet Woman** asked one of the delegates for an article about her trip, the idea was vetoed by Dr. Lytle. One delegate explained: "Dr. Lytle was briefed very throughly by the State Department."

THE DEFENSE DEPT. says that in the past five years there have been 21,000 military-aircraft accidents, killing more than 6,000 servicemen. . . . According to Victor Reisel, Hearst labor columnist, Andre Malraux told him that "de Gaulle and the men and women in the tight little band around him stopped fascism in Algeria. Now they are smashing away at communism and Marxism." One of de Gaulle's methods is to set up an Association of Capital and Labor with councils in every factory—similar to Mussolini's corporate state. . . . When Paul Robeson had to turn down a part in the Shakespeare Memorial Theater production of "Pericles" at Stratford-on-Avon, England, while he was still denied a passport, he suggested Edric Connor as a substitute. Connor was hired and became the first colored person to appear at Stratford.

—**Robert E. Light.**